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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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443 462 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has [685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 462 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 619 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest [721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle [715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present [648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this. [648] Gwiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis. [821] When Tip touched it, Gwiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

443 The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the bared (canal) leading from the foot of the Waskuk mountain to the Sepik. [489] This varies according to the height of the river water. At high water canoes can come up to the very edge of the forest. At present the end of canoe navigation is 100 yds. out in the swamp grass.

"The market is held a few hours after sunrise for it takes more than an hour for the Waskuk to descend the mountain and about the same time for the Yambon to paddle up-river in their canoes. I reach the edge of the swamp grass shortly after 8 A.M. The Waskuk are before me, but the Yambon are not yet in sight. Four young men of Waskuk are seated on logs around a small fire. Twenty to thirty women sit in three groups apart from the men without the benefit of the shade which the men enjoy. The women hold slabs [293] of bark over their heads to avoid the sun and still wear their string bags even though they are sitting down. They talk among themselves as do the men with only a few remarks passing between the groups.

"After a few minutes wait, the heads of men poling in three canoes can be seen above the swamp grass. There are eight or nine canoes, but since the Sepik river women paddle sitting, these cannot be seen until they have reached the head of the canal. When they are all grounded and their paddles have been stuck upright in the mud alongside their canoes, the Waskuk women gather up their digging sticks and bark wrapped bundles of washed sago to walk through the ankle deep muck to the canoes. I follow shortly after with the men. The Waskuk women are busy setting up their digging sticks or, if they haven't one, a piece of bamboo of the same length. In front of these uprights each women deposits her forty to fifty pound bundle of sago and unwraps it. The food had about the consistency of roquefort cheese and stands up in a triangular lump when the bark wrappings [439] are removed. Its colour is grey or a dirty pink. The Yambon women now

443 start the business. They bring two or three bundles of small fish each.
439 The bundle is of narrow brown leaves about a foot long and two inches in diameter, and contains between one and two dozen minnows of at least three different species. They walk about looking over the different lumps of sago which the Waskuk women have broken up into pieces roughly six inches square. One "rope" of fish is worth one block of sago at the present rate of exchange. But there is some inspection of the sago on the part of the Yambons and a similar feeling of the fish bundles by the Waskuk. There is little talk during the exchange. A Yambon woman sees some sago that catches her fancy. She taps the woman who stands by it to gain her attention and offers her a "rope" of fish. The Waskuk woman pinches the fish, is satisfied, and hands her a block of sago for it. The Yambon carries the sago to her canoe and comes back with more fish. The Yambons now change their article of trade from fish to the native spinach, and betel nuts. A few ropes of beads are also offered for the little sago that remains. The whole period of actual trade had been about 15 minutes. The few men of Yambon and Waskuk who are present wander about on the edges and take no active part in the exchange. When it is finished, the Waskuk retire toward the forest with their mat bags only partly filled by the few fish and vegetables they have received. They all stop in a little pool in the swamp grass to wash the last bits of sago from the bark wrappers.

142 " The contrast between the Yambon and Waskuk women in physique is very clearly seen at this time. It is like looking at paintings by El Greco and Rubens side by side. Yambon women are short, spindly and undernourished looking. Their breasts droop and their malars stand out. Their colour is dark brown. Few of them would look out of place riding a broomstick,

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, May, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 Wer and Sawingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

• 443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Waynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp. The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun mari" was dying and they were calling her relatives